

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XXII. No. 18.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1812. [Price 1s.

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TO THE FREEHOLDERS OF HAMPSHIRE.

Letter II.

Gentlemen,

In my last I addressed you upon topics not immediately connected with the object of our meeting at Winchester; but it is now my intention to speak to you upon matters, in which we, as freeholders of the county, are more directly concerned.

Of your general duty as electors I before spoke. Let us now inquire, whether those of you did your duty, who were on the side of Messrs. Chute and Heathcote. There are many persons, who, unfortunately, have very little scruple to vote away the liberties and property of their neighbours, but, who are unwilling enough to part with their own property, or any portion of it. It does, therefore, seem to me very extraordinary, that any man, who is not a direct sharer in the public money, should have voted, or have been ready to vote, for the late members for our county. Those members had given their support to all the measures which have been so oppressive to the nation, and, to re-elect them is to express an approbation of all those measures. There is no evil, of a political nature, that any of you complain of, which those members have not assisted in producing; and, therefore, to re-elect them, is, at any rate, to deprive yourselves of the right of making future complaints upon the same score.

You complain of the weight of the Taxes, and who are they who have imposed that weight upon you? Not Messrs. Chute and Heathcote *solely*, to be sure, but they have done all they were able towards it; they have voted for all these burdens, and they have voted against every proposition for lightening those burdens. What could they do more? How was it in their power to do you more injury? What could your worst enemy have added to the acts that they have been guilty of?

I hear it said by some, that taxes are necessary to the *support of the government*,

and also to the *defence of the country*. Gentlemen, let us examine this proposition. The laying of it down is of false intent; for, who has ever denied, that *some* taxes are necessary? Who has ever pretended, that the people ought to pay *no* taxes?

However, let us examine the proposition, beginning with that branch of it which relates to the *support of the government*, and we are first led to ask what is meant by *government*. Government is, or ought to be, a thing operating to the safety of the people; to the protection of the weak against the strong; and, of course, it will be found to consist in the administering of justice according to law. This is what ought to be meant when men speak of government; and not any thing which is merely to possess power over the whole of the people. The government of England, therefore, you will find to be supported chiefly *exclusive of all the national taxes*; the duties of justices, grand and petty jurors, sheriffs, coroners, peace officers, are all performed by the people without any pay; and, in the due discharge of these several duties we find protection of our persons and our properties. There remains only the King and the Judges, and the expense of supporting them will be found to amount to a very small sum, comparatively speaking. It is at the vestries, the benches of justices, the county-courts, the quarter-sessions, the assizes; here it is that we see government operating, and feel its effects; and, you well know, that these have nothing to do with the *taxes*; you well know, that all the concerns of the country are here carried on without the aid of any sums from what is called "THE GOVERNMENT," which appears, in the minds of some persons, to be a great something-or-other at London, a thing that nobody has seen, or can see, and, of course, that no one can describe.

"Aye," says farmer Lickshoe, "but, there are the *army* and the *navy*." Very true, farmer; but, though your voting may have made your sons captains and colonels, and, by that means may have drained your purse till it is nearly as empty as your head, the army and the navy form

no part of the *government of England*, properly so called. These are things separate, or, at least, they ought to be separate, from *the government*. Their sole legitimate use is the defence of the country against foreign foes; and, this will lead us to consider, whether the present taxes, employed for this purpose, are necessary.

I shall be told, that we have a most powerful enemy to contend against; that that enemy is not more powerful than he is valiant, and not more valiant than wise. This is all true; but, need we have that enemy? I say that we need not; for, that he has recently offered us such terms of peace as, in my opinion, ought to have been accepted of, and such terms as, I am afraid, we never shall be able to obtain. Gentlemen, you well know, that it has been boasted of, that we have beaten all the fleets in the world; that we have obtained the exclusive dominion of the seas; that we have stripped the enemy and his allies of all their colonies; that we have added immensely to our resources, strength, and dominions; and that our country has, by the feats of the war, been raised to the highest pinnacle of glory. Gentlemen, has not all this been said over and over again? Well, then, what has Napoleon offered us? Why, he has offered us peace, upon the basis of *leaving us in perpetual possession of all the conquests of which we boast!* Can it, then, be necessary to continue the war; can it be necessary to carry on this war at such an enormous expense; and can the taxes for the carrying on of this war be necessary?

But, what are we talking of? You are told, that the taxes are necessary for the "*defence of your country.*" Defence! What, my good credulous country-men, is it necessary for us to pay such enormous sums for our *defence* against a foreign **enemy**, while, at the same time, we are told, and seem to believe, that we are the greatest *conquerors* in the world? Verily, if we can be brought to believe both these propositions at once, we may, in matters of faith, boldly challenge our neighbours in the West, who are said to retain the conviction that the moon is made of green cheese.

Gentlemen, the members, who have just been re-elected for Hampshire, have invariably voted in support of this long and ruinous war, and for all the numerous measures which have been adopted for the purpose of preventing men from speaking their minds freely against the continuance

of so dreadful a scourge; and, therefore, by re-electing them, this county has given its sanction to what will, in all human probability, be productive of calamities which I shall not attempt to describe, because they may be anticipated by any man of reflection.

We are told, and many yet appear to believe, that, by continuing the war, we shall overset Buonaparté. Now, suppose that result to be probable, why should we wish it? I can see no good that it would bring to us, while I can see the probability of a great deal of evil that it might bring upon us. We have made peace with him once; and I can see no reason why we should not make peace with him again. I saw, in the Guildhall of London, the Ensigns of Buonaparté entwined, in a brilliant transparency, with the Ensigns of George the Third, waving over the head of the Lord Mayor and the King's ministers; and, I can see no reason, why the same should not be repeated.

Be this as it may, however, can any of you see a *chance of our succeeding in "oversetting Buonaparté?"* Gentlemen, let me beseech you; let me implore you, for the honour of the human form, to come to something like a *settled opinion* upon this subject; a most important one indeed; for, if there be no chance of our success in this work of oversetting, why this expenditure of money and of blood?

This war, with a trifling interval of feverish repose, has now raged for twenty long years, during which time the paupers have been more than doubled in number, and no small portion of the finest men in the country have been killed by the sword or the pestilence of war. And, what is the result *hitherto?*

We were told, that the wings of France would be clipped.—Have they been clipped?

We were told, that France would be subdued through her finances, that she would be bankrupt, and would never see gold and silver again.—Has she lost all her gold and silver?

We were told, a hundred times over, that the people of France would recal the Bourbons.—Have they recalled them?

We were told, that the French were abhorred by all the people in Germany, Italy, Holland, &c.—Have those nations shown that they held them in abhorrence?

We were told, at the commencement of every campaign of Napoleon, that he must be defeated.—Has he been defeated?

We were told, only a few months ago, that the Russians would put an end to him.—Have they done so?

We were told, officially in the London Gazette, that the Russians had defeated and routed him, and pursued him on his retreat.—Did not the next post tell us that he was at Moscow?

We have been told almost daily for the last ten years, that he and his tyranny were so much detested in France, that his life was in continual danger; in short, many times have we been told, that he was *extremely ill*, and sometimes even *dead*.—Is he not *alive*?—And do you think that his deeds bespeak a *sick man*?

Well, then, after so much experience of the falsehood of those who wish to lead us on in approbation of the war, will you still believe that they speak truth? Will you still attach any credit to their assertions? Will you still be the dupes of their craft playing upon your bugbear fears? Gentlemen, “most thinking people of Hampshire,” pray think a little, for once, upon this matter. You see Buonaparté, that Buonaparté who is represented as imagining that he sees an assassin in every one of his subjects; you see that same Buonaparté enter Amsterdam, not in a *bullet-proof coach*, but on *horseback*, exposing his body to a shot from any one of hundreds of thousands of windows. And, seeing this, will you believe, can you believe, that he is in continual fear of his life from the hands of assassins? Do, each of you, put this question to yourself: “If I thought ‘that every man in the country wished to ‘murder me, should I ride through hun- ‘dreds of thousands of them on horse- ‘back?’” Put that question to yourself, and your answer to those who tell you that Napoleon is in continual dread of assassination will be ready.

But, you are told, and you long have been told, that the people of France detest him, and long for an opportunity of over-setting his power. If this were true, what opportunity could be so good as that which they have had for the last three months? He is, perhaps, three thousand miles distant from the heart of France; he has the chief part of his army and all his greatest commanders with him; there is little probability of his returning for many months; and yet, not a hand is raised against his authority. With these facts before you, will you believe, are you still to be induced to believe, that the people of France wish to overset his power? If you are, the

long-snouted animals, for which our country is so much renowned, may fairly be presumed to equal in intellect their two-legged neighbours.

Amongst other things, which the hireling writers, in London and in many of the country news-papers, told you about Napoleon was, that he is become *uxorious* and *lethargic*, that is to say, foolishly fond of his wife and much given to sleep; a couple of qualities, by the bye, which do not seem to be very compatible with each other. But, do you think, that he has given proof of foolish fondness for his wife in his going to Moscow; or, of his sleepiness in the feasts of a campaign, during which he has performed greater exploits than were performed either by Caesar or Alexander during the whole of their lives? Oh! my “most ‘thinking’ countrymen, pray do think a little of these things! These falsehoods may, to some persons, appear too ridiculous to merit serious observation; but, they serve, even more than any other of the falsehoods, to show to what an extent the system of delusion is, by the means of a hireling press, carried in this country.

It is, as I have already stated, of the utmost importance, that we should form correct notions as to the chance of oversetting the power of Napoleon, because on the ground of that chance the continuance of the war is justified. Overset his power all the world cannot, unless aided by the people of France, who are nearly thirty millions in number, who inhabit the finest soil, blessed with the finest climate in the whole world, and to whom no man of sense will deny either genius or courage. It is, therefore, worth while to consider, what *motives* the people of France can have for wishing his power to be overset; and, I beg you here to observe, that the people of France may feel very differently from *us*; that they are by no means bound to wish as *we* wish; that, indeed, their wishes may very reasonably be supposed to be the precise opposite of our wishes; and that *they* may rather like him than dislike him for being the enemy of England. The question with them will naturally be, whether they are better off now than they formerly were; and, if they find, that the change has been for their benefit, we must not suppose, that they will wish to change back again.

Proceeding upon the supposed admission of these premises, I will now, speaking to you as *farmers*, state to you one reason why the people of France may naturally wish for the continuance of the sway of Napoleon.

Formerly the farmers in France yielded TITHES to the Clergy; they yield NO TITHES under Napoleon. Now, I shall, for my part, say nothing myself about the nature and tendency of tithes; but, I will cite the opinion of an extremely "loyal" Lord in Sussex, I mean LORD SHEFFIELD. This nobleman, who seems to have put himself at the head of the Wool-growers, is, in a report of the proceedings at the Lewes Wool-fair in 1811, stated to have observed, that the farmers, and especially the Wool-growers of England *laboured under great disadvantages in a competition with neighbouring countries, where there were no tithes.* This is the public declaration of a Lord distinguished for his "*loyalty,*" not less than for his knowledge in wool; and, it appears that the numerous farmers at the meeting, with voice as unanimous as that of a flock of their South Down Ewes, when called by the shepherd to a fresh piece of turnips, applauded the idea.

Now, then, Gentlemen, put it to yourselves, whether, if you, by any change in England, were freed from tithes, as the farmers in France are, you should not, upon the principle of Lord Sheffield, be very slow to risk any other change that might by possibility produce a restoration of tithes. Here, then, we have, according to Lord Sheffield, one great national good, produced by the Revolution of France; and, indeed, do we not see an account of deliberations *in Ireland* for the getting rid of tithes? Have we not heard from the great agricultural and loyal people in England the most anxious wishes expressed for the abolition of this sort of charge upon the land? And, while we hear all this, and see that the land and industry of France are free from such a burden, are we to believe, that the people of France are desirous of returning to their former state by oversetting the power of Napoleon?

If, from what has been said, or from your own reflection, you are convinced, that there is no chance of effecting the object of overthrowing the power of Buonaparté by the war, to what end, I ask you, is the war continued? It does, indeed, as it naturally must, enrich many individuals and many families; but, by what arithmetic are we to calculate its cost to the people in general? Who is able to estimate the amount of the misery that it occasions? Yet this war, with all its long train of evils, ~~Definite~~, regular supporters in Messrs.

This, however, is far from being their only political sin. I know, for my part, of no measure which I deem injurious to the country, that they have not supported; and, therefore, it is, in my opinion, the bounden duty of every freeholder, and, indeed, of every man in the county, to use his utmost endeavours to prevent their being returned at the *next* election, to second which endeavours no possible exertion of mine shall be wanting.

I am not, indeed, so foolish as to believe, that, while the right of voting is confined as it now is, a successful stand is to be made against corruption; but, much may be done at any rate, and, in the meanwhile, it behoves all those who are really desirous of saving their country, to exert themselves in the work of *Reform*, without which, as has now been made manifest, no change for the better can be expected.

To call upon my brother freeholders to exert themselves, without pointing out any mode of exertion, would, however, be fruitless; and, therefore, I now propose to you the formation of a *Society for the purpose of promoting purity of Election, and for exposing and preventing corruption.* I must here state, that this is not an idea originating with me, but suggested by other gentlemen, who are desirous that I should communicate it to the *Freeholders* and *Inhabitants* of the county in general.

In order to put into practice an intention so honourable to those who have conceived it, it appears to me desirable, that a meeting should take place *at the George Inn at Winchester, on the first Saturday in December*, when the means may be proposed, and when the necessary rules and regulations may be settled. In the mean while I shall be glad to hear from any gentleman in the county, who may wish to co-operate in the undertaking, and who may be disposed to communicate any hint as to the best mode of proceeding.

As to myself, as connected with these transactions, I have, as I observed in my first address to you, no motives of vanity or ambition. I have declared, in the face of the world, that I never will, either by myself or by any one dependent upon me, receive a single farthing of the *public money*, in any shape whatever. There are many gentlemen better qualified than myself, in point of talents, to represent the county, and very few who are not better able to spare from their private affairs the time necessary to the due discharge of such a duty; and, whenever men of this description,



with sound principles, come forward, I shall be ready to make way for them; but, I shall never be found amongst those, who estimate a man's fitness for such a trust from the mere length of his purse or from the breadth of his acres, which, as all history and experience prove, are no security for the possession of understanding, spirit, or integrity. To all these united, wealth is, indeed, a great advantage; but, for one solitary BURDETT, what shoals do we see of HARRY MINCHINS, and of MR. AATHERLEYS, whose wife, though the Honourable daughter of a "most noble" Marquis, receives out of the Taxes a pension of two hundred pounds a year; and of SIR JAMES TILNEY LONGS, who, with that immense estate, of which so much was said some months ago, *was upon the sinecure list to the end of his life!*

I am, Gentlemen,
Your faithful friend,

Wm. COBBETT.

Bolley, 26th October, 1812.

Address of the Proprietor of the Statesman.

TO THE PUBLIC.

"The very head and front of my offending
Hath this extent, no more."—OTHELLO.

After having endeavoured for several years to conduct the *Statesman* in such a manner as to merit public approbation, and, by every means in my power to sustain the best interests of my country, it is to be hoped that those who have honoured this Journal with a perusal, will excuse my soliciting their attention to the following narrative of my sufferings, connected with two very important objects in view, that of being an useful lesson to my contemporaries, and of proving to His Majesty's Government, and the Public at large, that I have not merited the weight of affliction which has pressed heavily upon me during the last two years of my life.

—Previous to entering into any further detail, it is but justice to say, that the national character of my countrymen has ever been, that of readily sympathizing with misfortune, from whatever cause it might spring; how grateful then must be the exercise of that virtuous feeling, when applied to those who, in supporting the cause of the People, have become objects of unrelenting resentment; and have not

only been deprived of liberty and property, but all those other enjoyments, without which life becomes a melancholy existence.—If there be any, who may object to this mode of addressing the Public, I request them to recollect, that during the course of my imprisonment, it is the first time I have obtruded the whole of my case upon their notice; and as the fate of one man to-day, may be that of another tomorrow, this statement of facts, though it may produce no favourable consequences to myself, its circulation will, I trust, be calculated to benefit others.—To enter into a recapitulation of all the ex-officio prosecutions in which I have been involved, since I became Proprietor of a news-paper, might be deemed superfluous, although they were all attended with considerable expense, and great personal anxiety, as must ever be the case in similar proceedings; I shall therefore confine myself simply to those *two* which led to my imprisonment in *His Majesty's Gaol of Newgate*, for which I have already suffered upwards of twenty-one months' incarceration!—

The first ex-officio prosecution against me, was for publishing an account of the riots in Piccadilly, when Sir F. Burdett was committed to the Tower. The article was merely a *literal copy* from a Morning Paper (*the Day*), and originally written by order of one of the Proprietors, and principal Managers of that Journal, as was proved by their ostensible Editor's affidavit, when brought up for judgment.—

On the process being served upon me, I informed the Treasury Solicitor, Mr. Litchfield, that I had copied the article from the *Day*, and that if it contained any libellous matter, I presumed the Editor would be made responsible. He replied, that an information had also been filed against the Editor, Printer, and Publisher of that Paper, and that I was left to take what course I thought proper.—With the advice of my friends, and relying on the impartiality of my Judges, I entered a plea of *Not Guilty*, under the impression of not being accountable for the conduct or writings of others; my hopes, however, proved fallacious.—In the interval between the notice and day of pleading, I consulted the Gentleman under whose direction the article was written, who was decidedly of opinion, that it would be better to withdraw the plea of justification—and throw myself on the *lenity* of the Attorney-General, adding, that he had every reason to believe, in consequence of

his influence with persons of high rank, and various other causes, that the prosecution would never be pushed to an extremity; and, *above all*, that I had no reason whatever to be under any serious apprehensions of the ultimate consequences, the more especially as I had only copied the article from their Paper. Being persuaded that this Gentleman was actuated by the most honourable motives, I agreed to suffer judgment to go by default, and the Printer and Publisher of the *Day*, as well as myself, were ordered to come up for judgment in November Term—when the sentence of the Court was, that we should be all committed to Newgate for twelve calendar months; and at the expiration of that time, I should find security for my good behaviour in the sum of £1,000 for three years.—The *Editor* of the *Day* was not brought up for judgment till the following Term, owing to the proceedings against him not being in so forward a state: in the mean time he made an affidavit, to exculpate himself and criminate others, who were not included in the prosecution. The sentence upon him was, that “he should be imprisoned in the King’s Bench for twelve calendar months.” It is, however, a well-authenticated fact, that he was permitted to live in the Rules—consequently HIS punishment was merely nominal. How far my being punished so severely for merely copying an article, may appear just or unjust to the Public, I cannot say; but of one thing I am certain, that when my case is laid fully before them, they will appreciate it with that humanity which distinguishes the character of Englishmen.—When my twelve-month expired, on the 28th of November last, the measure of my troubles had again to recommence—and another year was to be passed in bondage—caused by the following circumstance:—Mr. Collyer, a respectable tradesman of Manchester, feeling himself aggrieved by the Tax Commissioners having obliged him to pay a larger sum of money than he conceived to be right, determined to lay his case before the Public; and, for that purpose prepared an advertisement, expressing the particulars of his complaint—which was accordingly published in two Manchester Journals; and, at his particular request, afterwards put into the *Statesman*. The Commissioners, in consequence of the publication, instituted a prosecution against all the Proprietors; when one of the Manchester Editors informed me that the au-

thor, Collyer, could unequivocally prove the allegation, or facts, stated in the advertisement. In such a case, it appeared to me the most proper line of conduct to pursue, would be to plead *Not Guilty*; and I found that the Manchester Editors had done the same. Previous to the day of pleading to the information, one of the Defendants contrived to make his peace with the Commissioners, withdrew his plea, and suffered judgment to go by default, on a promise from them that the prosecution should be discontinued, he having made an *apology*; that Gentleman also recommended me to pursue the same course.—Not entertaining the smallest doubt but that I should experience the same lenity as he had himself, I accordingly did so; and even employed an agent at Manchester to wait on Mr. Dauntsey Hulme, one of the Commissioners, and present a letter from myself, in which I offered to make a public apology for the offence, and concluded by throwing myself on their lenity. I am indebted to Mr. Hulme for having received the person I deputed with the utmost politeness; and he not only expressed himself perfectly satisfied with the step I had taken, but promised to interest himself with his colleagues upon the subject of my letter, who, he had no doubt, would agree with him in putting a stop to the prosecution against all the parties. After several subsequent interviews between Mr. Hulme and my agent, the result was, that some of the Commissioners rejected my apology, and insisted that the law should take its course. In consequence of which, by the plea of *Not Guilty* having been withdrawn, I received notice to appear for judgment, and was sentenced to one year’s imprisonment in His Majesty’s Gaol of Newgate, to commence after the first period had expired—and, at the expiration thereof, to give security for my good behaviour in the sum of £1,000 for 3 years. As to the two Manchester Editors, Messrs. Cowdroy and Harrop, neither of them were called upon; nor has any punishment whatever been passed on them, although they were the first aggressors! Surely such an extraordinary circumstance would have justified the language of complaint, yet it has never escaped me; and I now content myself with submitting the whole of my case, not only to the consideration of Ministers, but to an impartial and unbiased Public.—With respect to Mr. Collyer, to whom I am indebted for my sufferings on the sub-

ject, the Public will hardly suppose, that he was not prosecuted until two Terms had elapsed; nor is it believed that he ever would have been molested, had not the peculiar hardship of my case excited the commiseration of Lord Folkestone, who kindly made it the subject of discussion in the House of Commons—but without producing any effect.—The last subject upon which I shall venture to trouble the Reader, relates to my affair with the Transport Board, still undecided; and, though last, it is certainly not least, in the catalogue of my misfortunes. It will probably be remembered that I appeared in Westminster Hall on the 20th of April last, to answer the charge of an Ex-officio prosecution instituted against me at the suit of the Hon. Commissioners for the Transport Board, for having published in the *Statesman*, a letter signed *Honestus*, reflecting on the conduct of the Commissioners in their treatment of the French Prisoners in this country. On that occasion I stated to the Court, my total ignorance of the letter in question, until it had absolutely appeared in the *Statesman*; and, requested their indulgence to allow me a little time, in order to discover the Author, and bring him forward. To effect this, I dispatched a messenger to a distant part of the country, and published several advertisements, offering a reward of £50 to any person who could give me information on the subject. All these endeavours were, however, unsuccessful; and, in the end, I resorted to the expedient of addressing the Honourable Commissioners through the medium of the *Statesman*, on the 29th of May last, and made a public apology, as an atonement for the offence given them by inserting the above Letter.—The following Affidavit has likewise been made by the late Conductor of the *Statesman*, which fully corroborates my own statement:

IN THE KING'S BENCH.

KING v. DANIEL LOVELL.

"George Houston, of Fleet-street, Gentleman, maketh oath and saith, that he was engaged by the above-named Defendant, Daniel Lovell, as Editor of the *Statesman* News-paper, in the month of May, one thousand eight hundred and eleven, and has had the chief management of that Paper ever since. And further saith, that all Letters and Communications addressed to the Editor, are

"opened by this Deponent. And further saith, that he, after mature deliberation, verily believes, that the Defendant, Daniel Lovell, was unacquainted with the contents of a certain letter addressed to the Editor of the *Statesman*, under the signature of '*Honestus*', reflecting upon the conduct of the Honourable Commissioners of the Transport Board, previous to its being published in the *Statesman*, on the nineteenth day of March last. And further saith, that he, this Deponent, received another letter, dated Oakhampton, twenty-fifth of March last, signed '*A Friend to Truth*', in answer to and in refutation of the former one, signed '*Honestus*', which he, this Deponent, did not communicate to the said Defendant, Daniel Lovell, and consequently, he was wholly ignorant of the contents thereof, until the fifteenth day of April last, when he, this Deponent, informed the said Defendant, Daniel Lovell, thereof, who directed it to be immediately inserted in the *Statesman*, which was accordingly done the same day.

"GEORGE HOUSTON.

"Sworn by the Deponent, George Houston, this third day of July, 1812, at my Chambers in Serjeants' Inn, before me,

"J. BAILEY."

To enumerate the various privations I have endured since my confinement—the decay of health—the immense loss of property—and the inexpressible distraction of mind, inseparable from my unfortunate condition, would, I think, sicken the heart of any one possessed of common feeling. I will not, therefore, enter into a recapitulation of that which relates simply to myself; and, in concluding this Address, without entering into any disquisition on the Liberty of the Press, I shall merely observe, that the foregoing statement is a plain and unadorned record of facts, and a necessary justification of myself. I became the Proprietor of an independent Journal from the purest motives, for which I have the satisfactory testimony of my own conscience. And although my sentence has been attended with the *loss of liberty, property, and friends*, yet one consolation will accompany me through life—that of never having wantonly, or upon slight grounds, injured the feelings or character of any individual; or, in a single instance, recanted any popular prin-

ciple, or betrayed the Public Cause, which it has hitherto been uniformly my pride and practice to defend.

D. LOVELL.

State Gaol, Newgate, Sept. 16.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

NORTHERN WAR.

CONDUCT OF THE RUSSIANS.—*Intelligence from the Grand Army.*

(Continued from page 542.)

quence. I understand it has received some reinforcements from Marshal Victor, who has arrived with the army of reserve from the banks of the Vistula, and that it is the intention of the French Generals to attempt to drive me from the positions I now occupy. The enemy's troops labour under great privations, owing to their distance from their magazines: he is deficient in tents and camp equipage, and the soldiers' rations have been reduced. I still communicate with General Essen, who informs me that the enemy have made no material progress in the siege of Riga. Marshal Macdonald is kept in a constant state of alarm by the enterprises of the garrison, and the expeditions undertaken against his rear.

WITTGENSTEIN.

Gen. Essen details in his dispatch the late successful sorties of the garrison, which have been already published. His dispatch concludes thus:—The French have hitherto confined themselves to a strict blockade of this fortress; but though their heavy artillery has arrived at Mittau, they do not make preparations to commence the siege in form. At present they have actually fortified the positions they hold as if they were afraid of being attacked; or rather as if we were the besiegers and they the besieged. They expect to derive facilities in their approaches to this place from the cold weather; but as I am informed that their troops already complain of the hardships they endure, they will be retained with difficulty in the depth of winter in so arduous a duty.

—The Prussian officers whom I have made prisoners tell me that they are restrained from quitting the service by the threats that their families would be imprisoned, their property confiscated, and themselves outlawed. Both officers and men have likewise long arrears of pay, which are withheld to bind them to the service.

—I have rendered this fortress as defensible as time and circumstances would admit, and am determined to defend it to the utmost of my power. With the blessing of God, the enemy never shall obtain possession of it, but find a grave beneath its walls.—I cannot conclude without bearing testimony to the conduct of the English naval officers and seamen, our brave allies: they have performed the most essential services to his Imperial Majesty in this quarter. Their courage prompts them to undertake the most hazardous enterprises, which their skill and foresight enable them to execute with success. In every danger they are foremost, and in every difficulty capable of counselling. I have derived great assistance from them.

Riga, Sept. 6.

VON ESSEN.

FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE PUBLIC.

[By order of his Imperial Majesty.]

It is with a heavy heart we are compelled to inform every son of the country, that the enemy entered Moscow on the 3d (15th) of Sept. The glory of the Russian empire, however, is not thereby tarnished. On the contrary, every individual is inspired with fresh courage, firmness, and hope, that all the evils meditated against us by our enemies, will eventually fall upon their own heads. The enemy has not become master of Moscow, by overcoming or weakening our forces; the Commander in Chief, by the advice of a Council of War, has found it expedient to retire at a moment of necessity, in order by the best and most effectual means to turn the transient triumph of the enemy to his inevitable ruin. However painful it may be to Russians, to hear that the original capital of the empire is in the hands of the enemy of their country, yet it is consolatory to reflect that he is possessed merely of bare walls, containing within their circuit neither inhabitants nor provisions. The haughty conqueror imagined that on his entrance into Moscow he would become the arbiter of the whole Russian empire, when he might prescribe to it such a peace as he should think proper; but he is deceived in his expectations: he will neither have acquired the power of dictating, nor the means of subsistence. The assembled and daily increasing forces of the districts of Moscow, will not neglect to block up every avenue, and to destroy such parties as may be detached for the purpose of collecting provisions; until the enemy shall perceive that his hopes of astonishing

the world by the capture of Moscow were vain, and he be compelled to open a passage for himself by force.—His situation is as follows:—He entered Russia with 300,000 men, the principal part consisting of natives of different kingdoms, serving and obeying him, not from free will—not in the defence of their respective countries—but solely from terror. The half of this multifarious army has been destroyed, partly by our brave troops, partly desertion, and partly by hunger and sickness; with the remainder he is to come to Moscow. His audacious irruption, not only into the very heart of Russia, but into its ancient capital, will, without doubt, gratify his ambition, and give him cause of boasting; but the character of that measure must be determined by its result.—He has not entered a country where every step he takes inspires all with terror, and bends both the troops and the inhabitants to his feet. Russia is unaccustomed to subjection, and will not suffer her laws, religion, freedom, and property to be trampled upon: she will defend them to the last drop of her blood. Hitherto the general zeal against the enemy clearly evinces how powerfully our empire is guarded by the undaunted spirit of its sons. Thus, no one despairs; nor is this a time to despair, when every class of the empire is inspired with courage and firmness—when the enemy, with the remainder of his daily decreasing forces, at a distance from home, in the midst of a numerous people, is surrounded by our armies, one of which stands before him, and the other three are endeavouring to cut off his retreat, and to prevent him from receiving any fresh reinforcements—when Spain has not only thrown off his yoke, but also threatens to invade his territories—when the greatest part of Europe (exhausted and enslaved by him), serving him involuntarily, is anxiously and impatiently awaiting the moment when she shall tear herself from his heavy and insupportable chains—when his own country sees no end to the torrents of its blood shed for his ambition.—In the present disastrous state of human affairs, will not that country acquire eternal fame, which, after encountering all the inevitable declarations of war, shall at last, by patience and intrepidity, succeed in procuring an equitable and permanent peace, not only for itself, but also for other Powers; nay, even for those who are unwillingly fighting against us? It is gratifying and natural for a generous nation to render good for evil.—Almighty God!

turn thy merciful eye to thy supplicating Russian church. Vouchsafe courage and patience to thy people struggling in a just cause, so that they may thereby overcome the enemy; and in saving themselves, may also defend the freedom of Kings and nations.

AMERICAN WAR.

Hon. Wm. Eustis, Secretary of the Department of War.

Fort George, Aug. 26, 1812.

Sir,—Enclosed are the articles of capitulation, by which the Fort of Detroit has been surrendered to Major-General Brock, commanding His Britannic Majesty's forces in Upper Canada, and by which the troops have become prisoners of war. My situation at present forbids me from detailing the particular causes which have led to this unfortunate event. I will, however, generally observe, that after the surrender of Michilimackinac, almost every tribe and nation of Indians, excepting a part of the Miamies and Delawares, north from beyond Lake Superior, west from beyond the Mississippi, south from the Ohio and Wahash, and East from every part of Upper Canada, and from all the intermediate country, joined in open hostility, under the British standard, against the army I commanded, contrary to the most solemn assurances of a large portion of them, to remain neutral; even the Ottawa chiefs from Arbucrotch, who formed the delegation to Washington the last summer, in whose friendship I know you had great confidence, are among the hostile tribes, and several of them distinguished leaders. Among the vast number of chiefs who led the hostile bands, Tecumseh, Marpol, Logan, Walk-in-the-Water, Split-log, &c. are considered the principals. This numerous assemblage of savages, under the entire influence and direction of the British commander, enabled him totally to obstruct the only communication which I had with my country. This communication had been opened from the settlements in the State of Ohio, two hundred miles through a wilderness, by the fatigues of the army, which I marched to the frontier on the river Detroit. The body of the lake being commanded by the British armed ships, and the shores and rivers by gun-boats, the army was totally deprived of all communication by water. On this extensive road it depended for transportation of provisions, military stores,

medicine, clothing, and every other supply, on pack-horses. All its operations were successful until its arrival at Detroit, and in a few days it passed into the enemy's country, and all opposition seemed to fall before it.—One month it remained in possession of this country, and was fed from its resources. In different directions detachments penetrated sixty miles in the settled part of the province, and the inhabitants seemed satisfied with the change of situation which appeared to be taking place: the militia from Amherstburg were daily deserting, and the whole country, under the control of the army, was asking for protection. The Indians generally, in the first instance, appeared to be neutralized, and determined to take no part in the contest. The fort of Amherstburg was eighteen miles below my encampment. Not a single cannon or mortar was on wheels suitable to carry before that place. I consulted my officers whether it was expedient to make an attempt on it with the bayonet alone, without cannon to make a break in the first instance. The council I called was of the opinion it was not. The greatest industry was exerted in making preparation; and it was not until the 7th of August that two 24-pounders and three howitzers were prepared. It was then my intention to have proceeded on the enterprise. While the operations of the army were delayed by these preparations, the clouds of adversity had been for some time, and seemed still thickly to be gathering around me. The surrender of Michilimackinac opened the northern hive of Indians, and they were swarming down in every direction. Reinforcements from Niagara had arrived at Amherstburg, under the command of Colonel Proctor. The desertion of the militia ceased. Besides the reinforcements that came by water, I received information of a very considerable force under the command of Major Chambers, on the river Le French, with four field-pieces, and collecting the militia on his route, evidently destined for Amherstburg; and in addition to this combination and increase of force, contrary to all my expectations, the Wyandots, Chippewas, Ottowas, Pottawatamies, Munssees, Delawares, &c., with whom I had the most friendly intercourse, at once passed over to Amherstburg, and accepted the tomahawk and scalping knife. There being now a vast number of Indians at the British post, they were sent to the river Huron, Brownstown, and Maguago, to intercept my communication. To open this communica-

tion, I detached Major Vanhorne, of the Ohio Volunteers, with 200 men, to proceed as far as the river Raisin, under an expectation he would meet Capt. Brush, with 150 men, volunteers from the state of Ohio, and a quantity of provisions for the army. An ambuscade was formed at Brownstown, and Major Vanhorne's detachment defeated, and returned to the camp without effecting the object of the expedition.—In my letter of the 7th inst. you have the particulars of that transaction, with a return of the killed and wounded. Under this sudden and unexpected change of things, and having received an express from General Hall, commanding opposite the British shore on the Niagara river, by which it appeared that there was no prospect of any co-operation from that quarter, and the two senior officers of the artillery having stated to me an opinion that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to pass the Turkey river and river Aux Cannard with the 24-pounders, and that they could not be transported by water, as the Queen Charlotte, which carried eighteen 24-pounders, lay in the river Detroit, above the mouth of the river Aux Cannard; and as it appeared indispensably necessary to open the communication on the river Raisin and the Miami, I found myself compelled to suspend the operations against Amherstburg, and concentrate the main force of the army at Detroit. Fully intending at that time, after the communication was opened, to recross the river, and pursue the object at Amherstburg, and strongly desirous of continuing protection to a very large number of the inhabitants of Upper Canada, who had voluntarily accepted it under my proclamation. I established a fortress on the banks of the river, a little below Detroit, calculated for a garrison of 300 men.—On the evening of the 7th and morning of the 8th instant, the army, excepting the garrison of 250 infantry and a corps of artillerists, all under the command of Major Denny, of the Ohio volunteers, recrossed the river, and encamped at Detroit. In pursuance of the object of opening the communication, on which I considered the existence of the army depended, a detachment of 600 men, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Miller, was immediately ordered. For a particular account of the proceedings of this detachment, and the memorable battle fought at Maguago, which reflects the highest honour on the American arms, I refer you to my letter of the 13th of August, a duplicate

of which is enclosed, marked G.—Nothing, however, but honour was acquired by this victory; and, it is a painful consideration, that the blood of seventy-five gallant men could only open a communication as far as the points of their bayonets extended. The necessary care of the sick and wounded, and a very severe storm of rain, rendered their return to camp indispensably necessary for their own comfort. Captain Brush, with his small detachment, and the provisions, being still at the river Raisin, and in a situation to be destroyed by the savages, on the 13th inst. in the evening, I permitted Colonels M'Arthur and Cass to select from their regiment four hundred of their most effective men, and proceed in an upper route through the woods, which I had sent an express to Captain Brush to take, and had directed the militia of the river Raisin to accompany him as a reinforcement. The force of the enemy continually increasing, and the necessity of opening the communication, and acting on the defensive, becoming more apparent, I had, previous to detaching Colonels M'Arthur and Cass on the 11th inst. evacuated and destroyed the fort on the opposite bank. On the 13th, in the evening, General Brock arrived at Amherstburg about the hour Colonels M'Arthur and Cass marched, of which at that time I had received no information. On the 15th, I received a summons from him to surrender fort Detroit, of which the paper marked A. is a copy. My answer is marked B. At this time I had received no information from Colonels M'Arthur and Cass. An express was immediately sent, strongly escorted, with orders for them to return. On the 15th, as soon as General Brock received my letter, his batteries opened on the town and fort, and continued until evening. In the evening all the British ships of war came nearly as far up the river as Sandwich, three miles below Detroit. At day-light on the 16th (at which time I had received no information from Colonels M'Arthur and Cass, my express sent the evening before, and in the night, having been prevented from passing by numerous bodies of Indians), the cannonade recommenced, and in a short time I received information that the British army and Indians were landing below the Spring Wells, under the cover of their ships of war. At this time the whole effective force at my disposal at Detroit did not exceed 800 men. Being new troops, and unaccustomed to a camp life—having

performed a laborious march—having been engaged in a number of battles and skirmishes, in which many had fallen, and more had received wounds; in addition to which, a large number being sick, and unprovided with medicine, and the comforts necessary for their situation, are the general causes by which the strength of the army was thus reduced. The fort at this time was filled with women, children, and the old and decrepit people of the town and country: they were unsafe in the town, as it was entirely open and exposed to the enemy's batteries. Back of the fort, above or below it, there was no safety for them on account of the Indians. In the first instance, the enemy's fire was principally directed against our batteries; towards the close, it was directed against the fort alone, and almost every shot and shell had their effect.—It now became necessary either to fight the enemy in the field, collect the whole force in the fort, or propose terms of capitulation. I could not have carried into the field more than 600 men, and left any adequate force in the fort. There were landed at that time of the enemy, a regular force of much more than that number, and twice the number of Indians. Considering this great inequality of force, I did not think it expedient to adopt the first measure. The second must have been attended with a great sacrifice of blood, and no possible advantage; because the contest could not have been sustained more than a day for want of powder, and but a very few days for the want of provisions. In addition to this, Colonels M'Arthur and Cass would have been in a most hazardous situation. I feared nothing but the last alternative. I have dared to adopt it. I well know the high responsibility of the measure, I take the whole of it on myself. It was dictated by a sense of duty, and a full conviction of its expediency. The bands of savages which had then joined the British force were numerous beyond any former example. Their numbers have since increased, and the history of the barbarians of the North of Europe does not furnish examples of more greedy violence than these savages have exhibited. A large portion of the brave and gallant officers and men I commanded would cheerfully have contested until the last cartridge had been expended, and the bayonets worn to the sockets. I could not consent to the useless sacrifice of such brave men, when I knew it was impossible for me to sustain my situation. It

was impossible in the nature of things that an army could have been furnished with the necessary supplies of provisions, military stores, clothing, and comforts for the sick, on pack horses, through a wilderness of 200 miles, filled with hostile savages. It was impossible, Sir, that this little army, worn down by fatigue, by sickness, by wounds, and death, could have supported itself, not only against the collected force of all the northern nations of Indians, but against the united strength of Upper Canada, whose population consists of more than twenty times the number contained in the territory of Michigan, aided by the principal part of the regular forces of the province, and the wealth and influence of the North-West and other trading establishments among the Indians, which have in their employment, and under their entire control, more than 2,000 white men.—Before I close this dispatch, it is a duty I owe my respectable associates in command, Colonels M'Arthur, Findley, Cass, and Lieut.-Colonel Miller, to express my obligations to them, for the prompt and judicious manner they have performed their respective duties. If aught has taken place during the campaign which is honourable to the army, those officers are entitled to a large share of it. If the last act should be disapproved, no part of the censure belongs to them. I have likewise to express my obligation to Gen. Taylor, who has performed the duty of Quarter-master-General, for his great exertions in procuring every thing in his department which was possible to furnish for the convenience of the army; likewise to Brig.-Major Jessup, for the correct and punctual manner in which he has discharged his duty; and to the army generally for their exertion, and the zeal they have manifested for the public interest. The death of Dr. Foster soon after he arrived at Detroit, was a severe misfortune to the army; it was increased by the capture of the Chachega packet, by which the medicine and hospital stores were lost. He was commencing the best arrangements in the department of which he was the principal, with the very small means he possessed. I was likewise deprived of the necessary services of Capt. Partridge by sickness, the only officer of the corps of engineers attached to the army. All the officers and men are gone to their respective homes, excepting the 4th United States' regiment and a small part of the 1st, and Capt. Dyson's company of arti-

lery. Capt. Dyson's company was left at Amherstburg, and the others are with me prisoners—they amount to about 340. I have only to solicit an investigation of my conduct, as early as my situation and the state of things will admit, and to add the further request, that the Government will not be unmindful of my associates in captivity, and of the families of those brave men who have fallen in the contest.—I have the honour to be, very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

W. HULL, Brig.-General,
Commanding the North Western
Army of the United States.

Hon. W. Eustis, Secretary of the
Department of War.

*Letter from Commodore Rodgers to the
Secretary of the Navy.*

United States frigate President,
Boston, Sept. 1, 1812.

Sir—I had the honour yesterday of informing you of the arrival of the squadron, and now to state the result and particulars of our cruise.—Previous to leaving New-York on the 21st of June, I heard that a British convoy had sailed from Jamaica for England on or about the 20th of the preceding month, and on being informed of the declaration of war against Great Britain, I determined in the event of Commodore Decatur joining me with the United States, Congress, and Argus, as you had directed, to go in pursuit of them.—The United States, Congress, and Argus, did join me on the 21st, with which vessels, this ship, and the Hornet, I accordingly sailed in less than an hour after I received your orders of the 18th of June, accompanied by your official communication of the declaration of war.—On leaving New York I shaped our course south-easterly, in the expectation of falling in with vessels by which I should hear of the before-mentioned convoy, and the following night met with an American brig which gave me the sought-for information; the squadron now crowded sail in pursuit, but the next morning was taken out of its course by the pursuit of a British frigate that I since find was the Belvidera, relative to which I beg leave to refer you to the enclosed extract of my journal; after repairing as far as possible the injury done by the Belvidera to our spars and rigging, we again crowded all sail, and resumed our course in pursuit of the convoy, but

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did not receive further intelligence of it until the 29th of June, on the western edge of the Bank of Newfoundland, where we spoke an American schooner, the master of which reported, that he had two days before passed them in lat. 43° long. 55° steering to the eastward: I was surprised to find that the convoy was still so far to the eastward of us, but was urged, however, as well by what I considered my duty, as by inclination to continue the pursuit.—On the 1st July, a little to the eastward of Newfoundland bank, we fell in with quantities of cocoa-nut shells, orange-peels, &c., which indicated that the convoy were not far distant, and we pursued it with zeal, although frequently taken out of our course by vessels it was necessary to chase, without gaining any further intelligence until the 9th July, in lat. 45° 30' long. 23° we captured the British private armed brig *Dolphin*, of Jersey, and was informed by some of her crew that they had seen the convoy the preceding evening, the weather was not clear at the time, but that they had counted 85 sail, and that the force charged with its protection consisted of one two-decker, a frigate, a sloop of war, and a brig.—This was the last intelligence I received of the before-mentioned convoy, although its pursuit was continued until the 13th of July, being then within 18 or 20 hours sail of the British Channel.—From this we steered for the Island of Madeira, passed close by it on the 21st July; thence near the Azores, and saw Corvo and Flores; thence steered for the Banks of Newfoundland; and from the latter place (by the way of Cape Sable) to this port, it having become indispensably necessary, by the time we reached our own coast, to make the first convenient port in the United States, owing, I am sorry to say, to that wretched disease the scurvy having made its appearance on board of the vessels, most generally to a degree seriously alarming.—From the western part of the banks of Newfoundland to our making the Island of Madeira, the weather was such, at least six days out of seven, as to obscure, from our discovery, every object that we did not pass within four or five miles of, and indeed for several days together the fog was so thick as to prevent our seeing each other, even at cable's length asunder, more than twice or thrice in the 24 hours.—From the time of our leaving the United States until our arrival here, we chased every vessel we saw, and you will not be a little

astonished when I inform you that, although we brought to every thing we did chase, with the exception of four vessels, we only made seven captures and one re-capture.—It is truly an unpleasant task to be obliged to make a communication thus barren of benefit to our country; the only consolation I individually feel on the occasion being derived from knowing that our being at sea obliged the enemy to concentrate a considerable portion of his most active force, and thereby prevented his capturing an incalculable amount of American property that would otherwise have fallen a sacrifice.—I am aware of the anxiety you must have experienced at not hearing from me for such a length of time, but this I am sure you will not attribute in any degree to neglect, when I inform you, that not a single proper opportunity occurred from the time of leaving the United States until our return.—Mr. Newcomb, who will deliver you this, you will find an intelligent young man, capable of giving such further information as you may deem of any moment. He will at the same time deliver you a chart, shewing the tract in which we cruised: annexed is a list of vessels captured, re-captured, and burnt.—The four vessels we chased and did not come up with, were the *Belvidera*, a small pilot-boat schooner, supposed to be an American privateer, the hermaphrodite brig privateer *Yankee*, which we lost sight of in a fog, but whose character we afterwards learnt, and a frigate supposed to be British, that we chased on the 28th ult. near the shoal of George's Bank, and should certainly have come up with, had we have had the advantage of two hours more day-light.—On board of the several vessels of the squadron there are between 80 and 100 prisoners, taken from the vessels we captured during our late cruise: the government not having any agent for prisoners here, I shall send them to Commodore Bainbridge, to be disposed of in such manner as best appears with the interest of the United States, and which I hope may meet your approbation.—With the greatest respect, I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

John Rodgers.

*The Hon. Paul Hamilton,
Secretary of the Navy, Washington.*

List of vessels captured, re-captured, and destroyed.

July 2. Brig *Traveller*, 277 tons, J. Amory, master, of Newcastle, E. 10

men, bound from the Bay of Fundy, owned by Geo. Watson, Mat. Dunn, Geo. Dunn, and John Stoger, cargo of timber.—burnt.

July 4. Brig Duchess of Portland, 6 guns, 11 men, of Newcastle, E. bound to Newcastle, N. S. in ballast—burnt.

July 9. Brig Dolphin, 241 tons, 12 guns, and 25 men, Philip Cabbott, of Jersey, Eng. bound from Jersey to Newfoundland, in ballast and some cargo, owned by Winter and Nicoll—sent into the United States.

July 24. Ship John, of Lancaster, 16 guns and 30 men, bound from London to Martinique, in ballast—sent into the United States.

Aug. 2. Brig Argo, 165 tons, 10 guns and 10 men, W. Middleton, master, of London, laden with cotton, fustic, and about 8,000 dollars in gold—ordered for the United States.

Aug. 17. Schooner Adeline, of London, 10 men, bound from Hayti to London, laden with coffee—ordered for the United States.

Aug. 25. Schooner Betsey, of Marblehead, from Naples, laden with brandy, re-captured from the Guerriere, who had ordered her for Halifax—4 men and a midshipman (prize-master)—ordered her for the United States.

JOHN RODGERS.

Extract from the Journal of Commodore Rodgers.

After describing the first ineffectual attempts of the *President* upon the *Belvidere*, the American Commander thus proceeds:—I now endeavoured, by altering course half a point to port, and wetting our sails, to gain a more effectual position on his starboard quarter, but soon found myself losing ground. After this a similar attempt was made at his larboard quarter, but without any better success, as the wind at this time being very light, and both ships sailing so nearly alike, that by making an angle of only half a point from the course she steered, enabled him to augment his distance. No hope was now left of bringing him to close action, except that derived from being to windward, and the expectation the breeze might favour us first: I accordingly gave orders to steer directly after him, and to keep our bow chase guns playing on his spars and rigging, until our broadside would more effectually reach him. At five, finding

from the advantage his stern guns gave him, that he had done considerable injury to our sails and rigging, and being within point blank shot, I gave orders to put the helm to starboard, and fire our main deck guns; this broadside did some further damage to his rigging, and I could perceive that his fore-top-sail yard was wounded, but the sea was so very smooth, and the wind so light, that the injury done was not such as materially to affect his sailing. After this broadside our course was instantly renewed in his wake (under a galling fire from his stern-chase guns, directed at our spars and rigging), and continued until half-past six; at which time, being within reach of his grape, and finding our sails, rigging, and several spars, particularly the main-yard, which had little left to support it except the lifts and braces, very much disabled, I again gave orders to luff across his stern, and gave him a couple of broadsides.—The enemy at this time finding himself so hardly pressed, and seeing while in the act of firing our head sails to leeward, and supposing that the ship had in a measure lost the effect of her helm, he gave a broad yaw, with the intention of bringing his broadside to bear: finding the *President* answered helm too quick for his purpose, he immediately reassumed his course, and precipitately fired his 4 after main-deck guns on the starboard side, although they did not bear upon us at the time by 25 to 30 degrees, and he now commenced lightening his ship by throwing overboard all his boats, waste anchors, &c. &c., and by this means was enabled by a quarter before seven to get so far a-head as to prevent our bow chase guns doing execution, and I now perceived with more mortification than words can express, that there was little or no chance left of getting within gun-shot of the enemy again. Under every disadvantage of disabled spars, sails and rigging, I however continued the chase with all the sail we could set, till at half-past eleven p. m. when perceiving he had gained upwards of three miles, and not the slightest prospect left of coming up with him, I gave up the pursuit, and made the signal to the other ships as they came up to do the same.—During the first of the chase, while the breeze was fresh and sailing by the wind, I thought the whole of the squadron gained upon the enemy. It was soon discoverable, however, the advantage he acquired by sailing large, and this I conceive he must have derived in so great a degree by start-

ing his water, as I could perceive upwards of an hour before we came within gunshot, water running out of his scuppers. — While in chase, it was difficult to determine whether our own situation or that of the other vessels of the squadron was the most unpleasant. The superior sailing of the *President* was not such (off the wind) as to enable us to get upon the broadside of the enemy; the situation of the others was not less irksome, as not even the headmost, which was the *Congress*, was able at any time to get within less than two gun-shots distant, and even at that but for a very little time.—In endeavouring to get along side of the enemy, 16 persons were killed and wounded by the bursting of our own gun.

Twenty-second Bulletin of the French Grand Army. Moscow, Sept. 27.

The Consul-General Lessips has been appointed Intendant of the Province of Moscow. He has organized a Municipality and several Commissions, all composed of inhabitants of the country.—The fires have entirely ceased. We every day discover magazines of sugar, furs, clothes, &c. The enemy's army appears to retire upon Kalouga and Toula. Toula contains the greatest manufactory of arms which there is in Russia. Our advanced guard is upon the Pakra.—The Emperor is lodged in the Imperial Palace of the Kremlin. We have found in the Kremlin several of the ornaments used at the Coronation of the Emperors, and all the flags taken from the Turks for upwards of one hundred years. The weather is nearly the same as at the end of October at Paris. It rains a little, and we have had some white frosts.—We are assured that the Moskwa, and the rivers of the country, do not freeze before the middle of November. The greater part of the army is cantoned at Moscow, where it rests from its fatigues.

The following Bulletin was on Thursday issued by Government:—

Foreign Office, Oct. 22, 1812.

Dispatches were this morning received from General Viscount Cathcart, K. T. dated St. Petersburg, Oct. 3, containing the following particulars:—

Reports have been received from the army to the North of Moscow, up to the 28th ult. inclusive, by which it appears

that the advanced posts of that army patrol daily to within a few wersts of Moscow, on all the roads leading to the northern, eastern, or western direction, and that French parties have not ventured far on any of them—whenever such parties have been met, they have been driven in, or cut to pieces.

The main army, under Prince Kutosow, occupies a strong position to the South of Moscow, at the distance of little more than 20 wersts. It commands all the roads leading in a southern direction; and communicates with the patrols of the northern corps, in the eastern and western roads. Several French detachments, and convoys of ordnance and ordnance stores have been taken on the Smolensko road, and detachments from the main army have been successful on other quarters, particulars of which are not yet received.

A powerful Russian force is assembling to the westward, of which the Moldavian army forms a part. Count Wittgenstein has had several brilliant affairs with the enemy on the Dwina, and a corps from Riga took possession of Mittau on the 30th of September—the enemy every where retiring before it.

Several supplies, intended for the French army, have been taken in that quarter. The French have burnt the greater part of Moscow, which they found stript, and evacuated by most of its inhabitants—the Steward of the Foundling Hospital being the most eminent public functionary they found in the city.

The army is reinforced, and the zeal of all ranks of the people continues to be manifested by contributions and personal voluntary service.

The Chief of the Staff, Baron De Wintzingerode, reports, under date of the 25th of September, as follows:

Upon the roads of St. Petersburgh, of Dmetrievsk, of Jaroslaft, and of Wolodimir, all is well; and the enemy has made no movement in advance. My vanguard towards Moscow remains as in my last report; and Colonel Jalowaisky who commands it, has reported to me, that the Solnik Pschenitchnikoff, who had advanced from Tchenoy Jam towards Moscow, met with the enemy near the village of Nikols, and having charged his advanced guard made thirty prisoners. At Nikols there are only some cavalry of the enemy, the patrol of his infantry having retired to Moscow.

(To be continued.)

ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

As illustrated in the Prosecution and Punishment of

WILLIAM COBBETT.

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IN order that my countrymen and that the world may not be deceived, duped, and cheated upon this subject, I, WILLIAM COBBETT, of Botley, in Hampshire, put upon record the following facts; to wit: That, on the 24th June, 1809, the following article was published in a London news-paper, called the COURIER:—"The Mutiny amongst the LOCAL MILITIA, which broke out at Ely, was fortunately suppressed on Wednesday by the arrival of four squadrons of the GERMAN LEGION CAVALRY from Bury, under the command of General Auckland. Five of the ringleaders were tried by a Court-Martial, and sentenced to receive 500 lashes each, part of which punishment they received on Wednesday, and a part was remitted. A stoppage for their knapsacks was the ground of the complaint that excited this mutinous spirit, which occasioned the men to surround their officers, and demand what they deemed their arrears. The first division of the German Legion halted yesterday at Newmarket on their return to Bury."—That, on the 1st July, 1809, I published, in the Political Register, an article censuring, in the strongest terms, these proceedings; that, for so doing, the Attorney General prosecuted, as seditious libellers, and by Ex-Officio Information, me, and also my printer, my publisher, and one of the principal retailers of the Political Register; that I was brought to trial on the 15th June, 1810, and was, by a Special Jury, that is to say, by 12 men out of 48 appointed by the Master of the Crown Office, found guilty; that, on the 20th of the same month, I was compelled to give bail for my appearance to receive judgment; and that, as I came up from Botley (to which place I had returned to my family and my farm on the evening of the 15th), a Tipstaff went down from London in order to seize me, personally; that, on the 9th of July, 1810, I, together with my printer, publisher, and the newsman, were brought into the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; that the three former were sentenced to be imprisoned for some months in the King's Bench prison; that I was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years in Newgate, the great receptacle for malefactors, and the front of which is the scene of numerous hangings in the course of every year; that the part of the prison in which I was sentenced to be confined is sometimes inhabited by felons, that felons were actually in it at the time I entered it; that one man was taken out of it to be transported in about 48 hours after I was put into the same yard with him; and that it is the place of confinement for men guilty of unnatural crimes, of whom there are four in it at this time; that, besides this imprisonment, I was sentenced to pay a thousand pounds TO THE KING, and to give security for my good behaviour for seven years, myself in the sum of 3,000 pounds, and

two sureties in the sum of 1,000 pounds each; that the whole of this sentence has been executed upon me, that I have been imprisoned the two years, have paid the thousand pounds TO THE KING, and have given the bail, Timothy Brown and Peter Walker, Esqrs. being my sureties; that the Attorney General was Sir Vicary Gibbs, the Judge who sat at the trial Lord Ellenborough, the four Judges who sat at passing sentence Ellenborough, Grose, Le Blanc, and Bailey; and that the jurors were, Thomas Rhodes of Hampstead Road, John Davis of Southampton Place, James Ellis of Tottenham Court Road, John Richards of Bayswater, Thomas Marsham of Baker Street, Robert Heathcote of High Street Marylebone, John Maud of York Place Marylebone, George Bagster of Church Terrace Pancras, Thomas Taylor of Red Lion Square, David Deane of St. John Street, William Palmer of Upper Street Islington, Henry Favre of Pall Mall; that the Prime Ministers during the time were Spencer Perceval, until he was shot by John Bellingham, and after that Robert B. Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool; that the prosecution and sentence took place in the reign of King George the Third, and that, he having become insane during my imprisonment, the 1,000 pounds was paid to his son, the Prince Regent, in his behalf; that, during my imprisonment, I wrote and published 364 Essays and Letters upon political subjects; that, during the same time, I was visited by persons from 197 cities and towns, many of them as a sort of deputies from Societies or Clubs; that, at the expiration of my imprisonment, on the 9th of July, 1812, a great dinner was given in London for the purpose of receiving me, at which dinner upwards of 600 persons were present, and at which Sir Francis Burdett presided; that dinners and other parties were held on the same occasion in many other places in England; that, on my way home, I was received at Alton, the first town in Hampshire, with the ringing of the Church bells; that a respectable company met me and gave me a dinner at Winchester; that I was drawn from more than the distance of a mile into Botley by the people; that, upon my arrival in the village, I found all the people assembled to receive me; that I concluded the day by explaining to them the cause of my imprisonment, and by giving them clear notions respecting the flogging of the Local Militia-men at Ely, and respecting the employment of German Troops; and, finally, which is more than a compensation for my losses and all my sufferings, I am in perfect health and strength, and, though I must, for the sake of six children, feel the diminution that has been made in my property (thinking it right in me to decline the offer of a subscription), I have the consolation to see growing up three sons, upon whose hearts, I trust, all these facts will be engraven.

WM. COBBETT.

Botley, July 23, 1812.

Published by R. BAGSHAW, Brydges-Street, Covent-Garden.

LONDON: Printed by J. M'Creery, Black-Horse-Court, Fleet-street.
